

The National Daily

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SAYS MICHAEL COLLINS: "Only Fratricidal Strife Can Keep Us From Making Gaelic Ireland Now Our Goal"

"A Violation of Ireland's Freedom Would Be a Challenge to the Freedom of Canada. Let Us Look to What We Undoubtedly Have Gained and Not What We MIGHT Have Gained. Let Us See How the Maximum Values Can Be Realized From That Gain."

THESE historic articles, written by Michael Collins, head of the new provisional government of the Irish Free State, exclusively for the Hearst newspapers at the request of William Randolph Hearst, give the first inside history that has been written of the secret negotiations with the British government which won Irish freedom, the unwritten chapters of the Irish revolutionary war, and the plans of the new provisional government. The articles, cabled to The Sunday Washington Times and other Hearst newspapers, are published the next day in Ireland and also in England by newspapers to which, at the request of Mr. Collins, the right of publication was given by Mr. Hearst.

By MICHAEL COLLINS,

Head of the Provisional Government of Irish Free State.
Minister of Finance Irish Republic.

Chairman Committee Now Drafting Constitution of Irish Free State.

Chief of Intelligence Department, Irish Republican Army.
Special Cable to Universal Service.

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PEACE with Ireland or a good case for further, and what undoubtedly would have been more intensive, war had become a necessity to the British cabinet. Politicians of both the great historic parties in Britain had become united in the conviction that it was essential for the British to put themselves right with the world. Referring to the peace offer which Mr. Lloyd George, on behalf of his Cabinet and Parliament had made to Mr. De Valera in July, 1921 (an offer which was not acceptable to the Irish people), Mr. Churchill said on September 24, at Dundee:

"This offer is put forward, not as the offer of a party government confronted by a formidable opposition and anxious to bargain for the Irish vote, but with the united sanction of both the historic parties in the state, and, indeed, all parties. It is a national offer."

Yes, it was a national offer, representing the necessity of the British to clean their Irish slate. The premiers of the free nations of the British Commonwealth were in England fresh from their people. They were able to express the views of their people.

World-Forced Peace.

The Washington conference was looking ahead. Mr. Lloyd George's cabinet had its economic difficulties at home. Their relationships with foreign countries were growing increasingly unhappy, the recovery of world opinion was becoming—in fact, had become—indispensable. Ireland must be disposed of by means of a "generous" peace. Or, if Ireland refused that settlement, we could be shown to be irreconcilable. Then Britain would again have a free hand for whatever further actions were necessary to restore law and order in a country that would not accept the responsibility of doing so for itself.

This movement by the British cabinet did not indicate any real change of heart on the part of Britain toward Ireland. And strings of conscience were felt only by a minority. This minority was largely the same minority that had been opposed to Britain's intervention in the European war. They were the peaceful group of the English people that is averse to bloodshed on principle, no matter for what purpose or by whom carried out. They were opposed to the killing we had to do in self-

defense quite as much as they were opposed to the aggressive killing of our people by the various British agents sent here. These pacifists were almost without any political power and had very little popular support.

Peace had become necessary. It was not because Britain repented in the very middle of her Black and Tan terror. It was not because she could not subjugate us. It was because she had not succeeded in subjugating us before world conscience was awakened and was able to make itself felt.

Why British Wavered.

"The progress of the coercive attempts made by the government have proved in a high degree disappointing," said Lord Birkenhead frankly in the British house of lords on August 10.

What was the position on each side? Right was on our side. World sympathy was on our side (passive sympathy largely). We had shown a mettle that was a fair indication of what we could do again if freedom were denied us. We were united. We had taken out of the hands of the enemy a good deal of government. We knew it would be no easy matter for him to recover his lost ground in that regard. We had prevented the enemy so far from defeating us.

We had not, however, succeeded in getting the government entirely into our hands, and we had not succeeded in beating the British out of Ireland militarily. We had unquestionably seriously interfered with their government and we had prevented them from conquering us. That was the sum of our achievement. We had reached, in July last, the high-water mark of what we could do in the way of economic and military resistance.

The British had a bad case. World sympathy was not with them. They had been oppressing us with murderous violence. At the same time they preached elsewhere the new world doctrine of "Government by the consent of the governed." They, too, had reached their high-water mark. They had the power, the force, the armament to "reconquer" us, but they hesitated to exercise that power without getting a world

menace. But though they failed in their present attempt their troops were still in possession of our island. At the time of the truce they were in fact drafting additional and huge levies into Ireland.

We had recognized our inability to beat the British out of Ireland, and we recognized what that inability meant. Writing in the weekly called "The Republic of Ireland," on February 21 last, Mr. Barton, a former member of the Dail Cabinet, stated that before the truce of July 11 it "had become plain that it was physically impossible to secure Ireland's ideal of a completely isolated republic otherwise than by driving the overwhelmingly superior British forces out of the country."

We also recognized facts in regard to northeast Ulster. We clearly recognized that our national view was not shared by the majority in the four northeastern

counties. We knew that majority had refused to give allegiance to an Irish Republic. We knew also that they would not yet acquiesce in any kind of isolation from Britain.

Before we entered the conference we realized these facts among ourselves. We had abandoned for the time being the hope of achieving the ideal of an isolated republic.

"Separation Must Come."

It is clear that the British spokesmen on their side knew that unless we obtained a real substantial freedom we would resist to the end at no matter what cost. But they also knew that they would make a "generous" settlement with us. They knew equally well that an offer of such a settlement would disarm the

world criticism, which could no longer with decency be ignored. They knew they could do these two major things and still preserve the "nations of the British commonwealth" from violent disruption.

The British believed (and still believe) that they need not and could not acquiesce in secession by us, that they need not and could not acquiesce in the establishment of a free republican government so close to their own shores. This would be regarded as a challenge—a defiance which would be a danger to the very safety of England herself. It would be presented in this light to the people of England. It would be represented as a disruption of the British empire and would form a headline for other places.

South Africa would be the first to follow our example and Britain's security and prestige would be gone. The British spokesman

believed they dared not agree to such a forcible breaking away. It would show not only their empire to be intolerable, but themselves feeble and futile.

Looking forward through the operation of world forces and to the development of freedom, it is certain that at some time acquiescence in the ultimate separation of the units will come. The American colonies of Great Britain got their freedom by a successful war. South Africa and the other states of the British commonwealth are approaching the same end by peaceful growth. In this British acquiescence. The reason, of course, is that separation by peaceful stages of evolution does not expose her and does not endanger her.

In judging the merits—in examining the details—of the peace we brought back, those factors must be taken into consideration. Before accepting the invitation

"If We Would Only Put Away Dreams, and Face Realities, Nearly All Things That Count We Have Now for Our Country. Looking Forward, It Is Certain Separation Will Come. The Treaty Oath Expresses Faithfulness Only as Symbolical of Association."

to a conference sent by Lloyd George on behalf of his cabinet we endeavored to get an unfettered basis for that conference. We did not succeed. It is true we reasserted our claim that our plenipotentiaries could enter such a conference only as the spokesmen of an independent sovereign state. It is equally true that this claim was tacitly admitted by Britain in inviting us to negotiate at all, but the final phase was that we accepted the invitation "to ascertain how the association of Ireland with the group of nations known as the British commonwealth may best be reconciled with Irish national aspirations."

Free Status Defined.

The invitation opened up the question: What is the position of the nations forming the British commonwealth, and how could our national aspirations best be reconciled with association with those nations?

Legally and absolutely, the nations of the commonwealth are in a position of subservience to Britain. Constitutionally they occupy today a position of freedom and of equality with the mother country.

Sir Robert Borden in the peace treaty debate in the Canadian House on September 1, 1919, claimed for Canada "complete sovereignty." This claim has never been challenged by Britain. It has, in fact, been allowed by Mr. Borden.

General Smuts in a debate on the same subject in the Union House on September 10, 1919, said: "We have secured a position of absolute equality and freedom, not only among the other states of the empire, but among the other nations of the world."

In other words, the former dependent dominions of the British commonwealth are now free, and secure in their freedom.

That position of freedom, and of freedom from interference, we have secured in the treaty. The Irish plenipotentiaries forced from the British plenipotentiaries the admission that our status in association with the British nations would be the constitutional status of Canada. The definition of that status is the bedrock of the treaty. It is the recognition of our right to freedom, and a freedom which shall not be challenged. No arrangements afterward mentioned in the treaty—mutual arrangements agreed upon between our nation and the British nation—can interfere with or derogate from the position which the mention of that status gives us.

The treaty is but the expression of the terms upon which the British were willing to evacuate—the written recognition of the freedom which such evacuation in itself secures.

Security Under Pact.

We got in the treaty the strongest guarantee of freedom and security that we could have got on paper—the strongest guarantee that we could have got in a treaty between Great Britain and ourselves.

The most realistic demonstration of the amount of real, practical freedom acquired was the evacuation of the British troops and the demobilization of the military police force. In place of the British troops we have our own army. In place of the Royal Irish constabulary we are organizing our own civic guard—our own people's police force.

These things are the things of substance. These things are the safe and genuine proof that the status secured by the treaty is

what we claim it to be. They are the plainest definition of our independence. They are the clearest recognition of our national rights. They are the surest power to maintain both our independence and rights.

It is the evacuation by the British which gives us our freedom. The treaty is the guarantee that that freedom shall not be violated.

The status of the British commonwealth have the advantage over us of distance. They have the security which that distance gives. They have their freedom. Whatever their nominal position in relation to Britain may be, they can maintain their freedom aided by the distance.

We have not the advantage of distance. Our nearness would be a disadvantage to us under whatever form and in whatever circumstances we had obtained our freedom. In case of a feeling of hostility between the two countries the nearness is, of course, more than a disadvantage to us—it is a standing danger. It was the task of the plenipotentiaries to overcome this geographical condition in so far as any written arrangement could overcome it. We succeeded in securing a written recognition of our status. The treaty clauses covering this constitute a pledge that we shall be as safe from interference as Canada is safe owing to the fact of her 2,000 miles of geographical separation.

Our immunity can never be challenged without challenging the immunity of Canada. Having the same constitutional status as Canada, a violation of our freedom would be a challenge to the freedom of Canada. It gives a security which we ought not lightly to despise. No such security would have been heightened by the external association aimed at in document No. 2.

The treaty is the "signed agreement between Britain and ourselves. It is the recognition of our freedom by Britain and it is the assurance that, having withdrawn her troops, Britain will not again attempt to interfere with that freedom. The free nations of the commonwealth are witnesses to Britain's signature.

Treaty Oath Explained.

The occupation of our ports for defensive purposes might appear to be a challenge to our security. It is not.

The naval facilities are granted by us to Britain, and are accepted by her in the treaty as by one independent nation from another by international agreement. For any purpose of interference with us these facilities cannot be used.

The arrangement provided in the treaty in regard to northeast Ulster is also but a matter of agreement between ourselves and Britain. It is an agreement by us that we will deal with the difficulty created by Britain. It is an assurance that we will give the northeast certain facilities to enable them to take their place willingly in the Irish nation.

The maligned treaty oath was a further admission wrong from Britain of the real relationship between the British nations, Canada and South Africa, continue to swear allegiance to King George, his heirs, successors, etc. They give an oath in keeping with their obsolete position of dependence, but out of keeping with their actual position of freedom. Mr. De Valera's alternative oath recognized the King of England as head of the association, a head inferring subordination.

The treaty oath, however, en-

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GIRLLOVER WHO SAVED MICHAEL COLLINS' LIFE DARED DEATH A SCORE OF TIMES FOR FIANCE

Kitty Kiernan Outwitted Black and Tans Many Times to Warn "Mick" He Was in Close Danger.

By SELFRIDGE HANNAGAN.

DUBLIN, April 1.

MICHAEL COLLINS, the head of the Provisional Government, and the De Wet of Ireland, is shortly to marry Miss Kitty Kiernan, a charming young Irish girl, who has lately come into prominence in Sinn Fein circles. Whereby hangs a tale of romance.

Miss Kiernan is a native of Granard, in the county of Longford, and when her name first came into prominence among the adherents of Sinn Fein it was understood that she was all but engaged to another Sinn Fein chief, one who has since offered very strong opposition to ratification of the treaty, so that in securing a triumph over this antagonist on the ratification issue, "Mick" was duplicating the triumph already made as rival lover.

The meeting of Collins and his future bride was romantic enough for most people, for it took place in the days when he was a fugitive with a price on his head and large parties of troops and police scouring the country for him.

Late one night there came by accident to the ears of the Sinn Fein chiefs in county Longford information that made it clear that the hiding place of their leader had been discovered, and at the same time it was obvious that it was useless trying to send a warning in the usual way, for police and military patrols were everywhere in evidence, and all men attempting to leave the town were turned back.

It was then that a woman messenger was sought, and Miss Kiernan was mentioned as a girl who would gladly risk the dangerous journey into the darkness of night among the hills in which the much-wanted chief was hiding.

CHALLENGED BY SENTRY.

She was allowed to leave the town unchallenged, as she appeared to be making one of her many visits to friends in the district, but no sooner was she clear of the vigilant patrols than she crossed into the adjoining county, and in Roscommon she was provided with a horse and instructions regarding the best means of reaching the lonely farmhouse in the hills where the guerrilla chief was then in hiding, little dreaming that his enemies had discovered his secret, and were slowly but surely drawing circles around the place, ready to close in when the signal was given.

Miss Kiernan had reached a point some ten miles from the place of concealment, and was traveling alone on horseback through a rough mountain track by which she meant to cross the mountain into Longford again to reach the hiding place by paths likely to be less guarded than the main roads, when she was suddenly challenged by a sentry, who seemed to spring out of the ground over which she was traveling.

Knowing that if she were stopped she ran a chance of being discovered, she suddenly decided to risk everything, and putting spurs



Miss Kitty Kiernan.

to her horse, she rode straight at the sentry, knocking the man over and causing his rifle to go off as he fell.

The shot was answered by shouts, and men came running from fields and hills around, shooting as they ran at the girlish figure on the horse now dashing madly along the rough road. Bullets whistled unpleasantly about the head of the girl, but she knew her mission would fail if she did not dare everything now, so she continued on her way in spite of the many calls to stop and the heavy fire made by her pursuers.

To get away she had to make a much more extensive detour than she had counted on, but in the end she shook off her pursuers, and was making satisfactory progress toward the right road when her horse collapsed, and she was faced with the necessity of covering the remaining seven miles on foot across a bleak mountainous expanse frequented by some of the most desperate characters who had been responsible for many crimes in that neighborhood up to then.

GIRL ELUDES PURSUITS. Undaunted, however, she trudged on through the night, and at daybreak found herself in sight of the farm where the fugitive lay in fancied security. So far she had not seen the slightest sign of troops or the black and tans, but that was not altogether reassuring, for she knew from actual experience that in this wild guerrilla

warfare unseen foes were the greatest menace.

Suddenly she heard voices, and there was no mistaking the fact that somewhere near were men of the British forces. She dropped behind a friendly hedge and lay with wildly beating heart awaiting the next move. Two men in the uniform of the dreaded Black and Tans came into view on the road-way, stopping just opposite the sheltering hedge.

Miss Kiernan was sure they had seen her and as she lay in her hiding place watching them she was certain her last hour had come, and she was desperately bracing herself for a last struggle with her pursuers, determined to snatch the pistol that one was carrying and make a fight for it rather than give in without one more effort to save the man of whose daring she had heard so much.

To her relief, the two men passed on, and the way was clear to the farmhouse. Still, however, she had to move cautiously, for there was always the danger that she might be seen. Finally she reached the farm and delivered her message to the farmer, who was one of the most trusted of Sinn Fein agents.

It shows the suspicion that existed that she was not received with too much cordiality at first, and it was even denied that the fugitive was there at all. In the end, however, her message was conveyed to him, and the guerrilla chief, being a better judge of char-

Woman Intelligence Chief Drove Horse Over Sentry Who Blocked Way of Safety for Chief She Will Wed.

acter than the farmer, had sufficient confidence in the girl who had undertaken this perilous mission on his behalf to meet her and see for himself what manner of woman was this supposed British spy who, as his friends thought, had come to trap him.

It was thus the couple met for the first time, and the meeting was the beginning of an attachment that is shortly to be consummated by the union of these two ardent young people who learned to love each other in the shadow of great danger in the troubled times of their native land.

CAUGHT BY BRITISH.

From the time the young girl became the intelligence officer of the fugitive, and through all the long months when he was on the run it was she who kept watch and ward over him, she who was quick to detect movements threatening his safety, and prompt to warn him and guide him to safer hiding places.

Once she found it necessary to disguise herself as a boy in order to divert suspicion, but she had no ill luck to fall into the hands of a patrol of Black and Tans who had a grudge against the local I. R. A. for the death of a comrade killed in an ambush.

It so happened that in her disguise she bore a strong resemblance to the youngster for whom the patrol had been looking with the object of making him pay for the death of their comrade, and in spite of protests "he" was bound and was told that "he" was going to be shot.

The position of Miss Kiernan was then a desperate one. She could only escape fate threatened by revealing her identity, thus in all probability betraying the presence of the chief in the neighborhood, for at that time it had become known that there was a romantic attachment between the two and that Collins owed many of his marvellous escapes to the young girl.

READY TO FACE DEATH.

Without hesitation she decided to face death rather than speak out, but fortunately for her the arrival of a patrol of regular troops led to her reprieve, and she was taken to the town, where she ultimately disclosed her identity and satisfied the authorities that she had had nothing to do with the killing of the Black and Tan referred to.

Before disclosing her sex, however, she had managed to secure the passage of a message to Collins, who got away from the district before the usual search for him was ordered by the authorities.

Thus from the trials and troubles which beset the "distressed country" in the past has sprung at least one pleasing episode in the shape of the Irish chief's happy romance.

It makes a fitting sequel to the whole romantic chapter of his life, which, as the recent history of Ireland has shown, has been crisscrossed with adventures enough to satisfy the most ardent reader of "deeds of daring do."